

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-10 SS-20 ACDA-19 CU-04 OIC-04

AEC-11 AECE-00 DRC-01 /167 W
----- 013943

P R 161512Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8757

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16620

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR: STABILIZING MEASURES

REF: (A) STATE 222698, (B) BONN 16468, (C) BONN 16386,
(D) U.S.NATO 5521 AND STATE 226472

BEGIN SUMMARY. FRG IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT AMERICAN
SCENARIO ON STABILIZING MEASURES AND WISHES TO MOVE
EXPEDITIOUSLY NEXT WEEK AT NATO IN SEEKING EARLY
AGREEMENT ON WESTERN POSITION BASED ON AMERICAN PAPER.
BUT GIVEN IMMINENT ALLIED AGREEMENT ON INITIAL FRAMEWORK
PROPOSAL FOR VIENNA, GERMANS BELIEVE A BIT MORE TIME
SHOULD BE TAKEN TO CONSIDER IMPLICATIONS OF U.S.
CONSTRAINT PROPOSALS. GERMANS PREPARED TO DROP
MORATORIUM IDEA AND, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, TO ACCEPT
PARA 23 MEASURE II AND MODIFIED III (LESS LOCATIONS

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AND NUMBER); BONN ALSO WOULD RETAIN MEASURE I BUT DROP

MEASURE IV. AREA AND APPLICATION BEYOND U.S./SOVIET FORCES REMAINS PROBLEM; BONN WISHES TO HOLD THESE TWO ISSUES OPEN TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT. GERMANS PROBABLY COULD ACCEPT PARA 29 MEASURE III AS SUBSTITUTE FOR MEASURE II; RUTH INQUIRED REGARDING OUR APPROACH TO PARA 30, PARTICULARLY NON-CIRCUMVENTION.
END SUMMARY

1. RUTH AND GESCHER CALLED IN EMBOFFNOV 15 TO REVIEW CURRENT STATE OF FRG THINKING ON STABILIZING MEASURES AND INSTRUCTION BONN HOPED TO SEND EARLY NEXT WEEK FOLLOWING FURTHER INTERMINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS. SHOULD THE DEPT WISH US TO TAKE UP ANY OF THESE POINTS WITH THE GERMANS ON MONDAY, THEN FURTHER GUIDANCE WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

2. SCENARIO. RUTH AND GESCHER SAID FRG WOULD ACCEPT AMERICAN SCENARIO IN PARA 6 OF REF A, WHICH, IN RUTH'S WORDS, NOW DEFINITELY CHANGES VOCABULARY FROM PRE-REDUCTION AND COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS TO ONE LIST OF STABILIZING MEASURES. BONN ALSO AGREES ON THE NEED TO MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY NEXT WEEK AT NATO TOWARD EARLY AGREEMENT ON STABILIZING MEASURES BASED ON AMERICAN PAPER IN REF A. HOWEVER, RESULTS OF THE NOV 15 SPC MEETING (REF D) AND IMMINENT AGREEMENT ON INITIAL ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL FOR VIENNA MAKES IT POSSIBLE IN GERMAN VIEW TO TAKE A LITTLE MORE TIME AND THUS TO ASSURE SUFFICIENT CONSIDERATION OF IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT COMPREHENSIVE AMERICAN PROPOSALS. SOMEWHAT APOLOGETICALLY, RUTH SAID RANTZAU'S SOMEWHAT PETULANT REMARK AT NOV 15 SPC REFLECTED ONLY DESIRE TO ASSURE ADEQUATE CONSIDERATION OF ISSUES.

3. WHICH MEASURES - PARA 23. RUTH BEGAN BY CONFIRMING FRG SUPPORT OF MEASURE I AND CONCEDED GERMAN READINESS TO DROP INSISTENCE UPON MORATORIUM TYPE PROPOSAL IF THAT IS THE WISH OF THE ALLIANCE MAJORITY. RUTH SAID BONN IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT MEASURE III MINUS REFERENCE TO LOCATION AND (WITH SOMEWHAT LESS INSISTENCE) NUMBER. RUTH SAID U.S.

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PROPOSAL FOR EXCEPTIONS REGARDING LOCATION (ANNEX 3(C)) ALSO INSUFFICIENT AS THE EAST GERMANS HAD A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF TRAINING GROUNDS (OVER 50) NEAR THE BORDER AND SO DID THE FRG. RECALLING U.S. ARGUMENTATION REGARDING POSSIBLE SOVIET COUNTER DEMANDS ON AIR FORCE AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CONTEXT OF MORATORIUM IDEA, RUTH CAUTIONED THAT SOVIETS COULD MAKE SIMILAR COUNTER DEMANDS IN CONTEXT OF MEASURE III. HE THEREFORE

SUGGESTED THAT REFERENCE IN MEASURE III "TO ALL FORCES"
BE CHANGED TO GROUND FORCES.

4. TURNING TO CBM TYPE MEASURES, RUTH SAID MEASURE IV
WOULD BE "BETTER OUT" AS BONN DID NOT SEE HOW IT WOULD
SERVE WESTERN INTERESTS ON BALANCE IN MBFR. (COMMENT:
IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE FINAL GERMAN
WORD ON MEASURE IV IN MBFR. END COMMENT) RUTH SAID

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AECE-00 DRC-01 /167 W

----- 013964

P R 161512Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8758

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA

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FRG COULD ACCEPT MEASURE II IF ALLIES (I.E., USG) WERE
READY TO FIGHT FOR SATISFACTORY MANEUVER
CBM'S IN GENEVA. RUTH PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE
OF ATTAINING CSCE/CBM'S APPLICABLE TO "CONTINENTAL
EUROPE INCLUDING SOVIET TERRITORY" RATHER THAN SIMPLY
BORDER AREAS AS DEMANDED BY MENDELEVITCH. COMMENT.
RUTH TERMED READINESS TO INCLUDE MEASURE II IN VIENNA

A "MAJOR STEP IN U.S. DIRECTION," BUT MADE CLEAR THAT GERMAN PRICE IS SATISFACTORY CSCE/CBM'S WHICH (AT LEAST COSMETICALLY) EXPAND AREA OF APPLICATION BEYOND NGA. IT IS CLEAR THAT RUTH IS SEEKING BY THIS PLOY ALSO TO SECURE PRECEDENT FOR LATER MBFR DISCUSSION OF AREA OF APPLICATION TO MBFR STABILIZING MEASURE. END COMMENT.

5. WHICH MEASURES--PARA 29. RUTH TERMED PARA 29 MEASURE II, "LIMITATIONS ON THE MOVEMENT OF FORCES ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE AREA," UNACCEPTABLE
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TO BONN. HE SAID IDEA IN U.S. PAPER TO SUBSTITUTE PARA 29 MEASURE III COULD BE AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE BUT EMPHASIZED THAT THIS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO GROUND FORCES AND THAT AREA QUESTION SHOULD BE HELD OPEN. RUTH SEES PARA 29 MEASURE I AS, IN EFFECT, AN EXTENSION OF PARA 23 MEASURE I, BUT AGREES THAT IMPLICATIONS SHOULD BE CAREFULLY STUDIED.

6. AREA OF APPLICATION. RUTH AND GESCHER SAID AREA ISSUE REMAINS THE BIG ONE IN BONN, WHICH WISHES TO LEAVE THE QUESTION OPEN TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT IN ORDER TO AVOID PREJUDICING AREA ISSUE AT A LATER TIME. ON THE OTHER HAND, RUTH AGREES WITH U.S. IDEAS THAT WE ARE NOW ADDRESSING "THE FIRST INSTANCE" AND THAT AREA QUESTION SHOULD NOW BE HANDLED IN PRAGMATIC FASHION. AREA FOR PARA 23 MEASURE I IS DEFINED BUT BONN PREFERS TO HOLD OPEN AREA OF APPLICATION FOR MEASURES II AND III OR TO LIMIT THOSE MEASURES IN TIME TO A SPECIFIED PERIOD SUCH AS ONE YEAR OR THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. RUTH INQUIRED REGARDING U.S. VIEWS ON PARA 30 OF ALLIED PROPOSED PAPER, PARTICULARLY REGARDING NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS. HE MADE CLEAR AGAIN THAT MAJOR INTEREST OF BONN IS INCLUSION OF HUNGARY IN NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND, IF FEASIBLE, OTHER STABILIZING MEASURES.

7. FORCES TO BE AFFECTED. BESIDES OBVIOUS LIMITATION TO U.S./SOVIET FORCES IN PARA 23 MEASURE I, RUTH SAID MEASURES II AND III SHOULD BE APPLICABLE AT THE OPTION OF ALL OTHER MBFR PARTICIPATING STATES, NOT JUST DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. COMMENT. WE GATHER GERMAN POSITION ON THIS ISSUE IS STILL FLUID. END COMMENT.

8. IN CLOSING, EMBOFF ACKNOWLEDGED THAT GENERAL TREATMENT OF STABILIZING MEASURES IN INITIAL ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL DID SOMEWHAT REDUCE THE PRESSURE BUT EMPHASIZED THAT USG STILL PERCEIVED CONSIDERABLE URGENCY IN REACHING AGREED WESTERN POSITION ON

STABILIZING MEASURES. RUTH SAID HE FULLY AGREED AND
THAT BONN WAS WORKING AS INTENSELY AS POSSIBLE ON THE
SUBJECT. HE EMPHASIZED GERMAN ACCEPTANCE OF OVERALL
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AMERICAN APPROACH AND CONCESSION ON A NUMBER OF POINTS
OF INTEREST TO US. BUT RUTH ALSO SAID THAT FONOFF AND
DEFMIN DEEMED IT IMPERATIVE, WITHIN SHORT TIME
AVAILABLE, TO CLOSELY EXAMINE THE IMPLICATIONS OF
PROPOSED MEASURES.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, AGREEMENT DRAFT, NEGOTIATIONS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, TROOP REDUCTIONS, MILITARY AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN16620
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731130/aaaaavrr.tel
Line Count: 238
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) STATE 222698, (B) BONN 16468, (C,) BONN 16386
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: STABILIZING MEASURES
TAGS: PARM, GE, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005